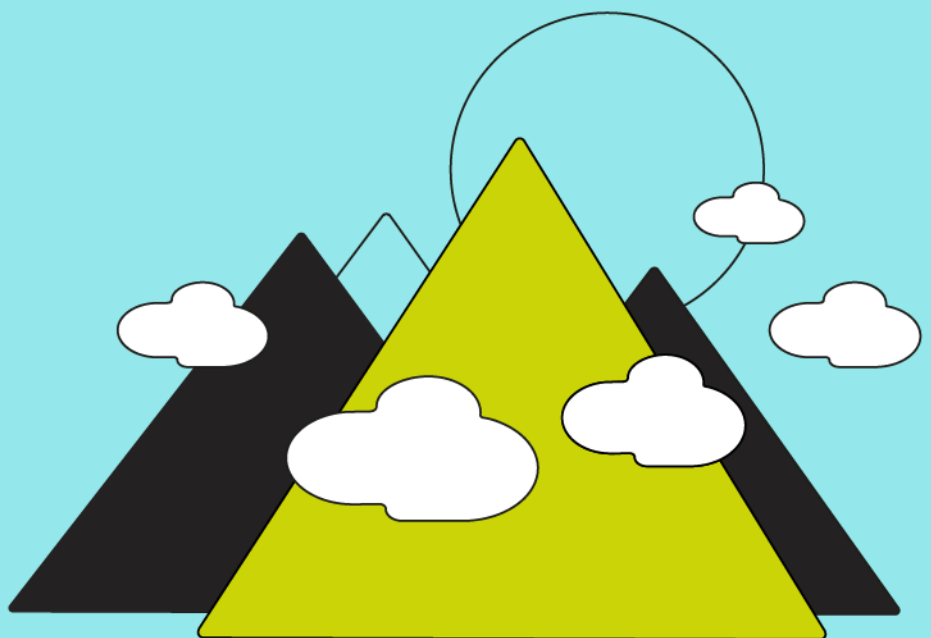


Delegate Booklet

Course Title:

**Pearson Edexcel A level History:  
Summer 2023 series feedback**





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**AO1** – Demonstrate, organise and communicate knowledge and understanding to analyse and evaluate the key features related to the periods studied, making substantiated judgements and exploring concepts, as relevant, of cause, consequence, change, continuity, similarity, difference and significance (55%)

Level	Mark	Descriptor
	0	No rewardable material.
1	1–3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Simple or generalised statements are made about the topic.</li> <li>Some accurate and relevant knowledge is included, but it lacks range and depth and does not directly address the question.</li> <li>The overall judgement is missing or asserted.</li> <li>There is little, if any, evidence of attempts to structure the answer, and the answer overall lacks coherence and precision.</li> </ul>
2	4–7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is limited analysis of some key features of the period relevant to the question, but descriptive passages are included that are not clearly shown to relate to the focus of the question.</li> <li>Mostly accurate and relevant knowledge is included, but lacks range or depth and has only implicit links to the demands and conceptual focus of the question.</li> <li>An overall judgement is given but with limited substantiation and the criteria for judgement are left implicit.</li> <li>The answer shows some attempts at organisation, but most of the answer is lacking in coherence, clarity and precision.</li> </ul>
3	8–12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is some analysis of, and attempt to explain links between, the relevant key features of the period and the question, although descriptive passages may be included.</li> <li>Mostly accurate and relevant knowledge is included to demonstrate some understanding of the demands and conceptual focus of the question, but material lacks range or depth.</li> <li>Attempts are made to establish criteria for judgement and to relate the overall judgement to them, although with weak substantiation.</li> <li>The answer shows some organisation. The general trend of the argument is clear, but parts of it lack logic, coherence and precision.</li> </ul>
4	13–16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Key issues relevant to the question are explored by an analysis of the relationships between key features of the period, although treatment of issues may be uneven.</li> <li>Sufficient knowledge is deployed to demonstrate understanding of the demands and conceptual focus of the question and to meet most of its demands.</li> <li>Valid criteria by which the question can be judged are established and applied in the process of coming to a judgement. Although some of the evaluations may be only partly substantiated, the overall judgement is supported.</li> <li>The answer is generally well organised. The argument is logical and is communicated with clarity, although in a few places it may lack coherence and precision.</li> </ul>

Level	Mark	Descriptor
5	17–20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Key issues relevant to the question are explored by a sustained analysis of the relationships between key features of the period.</li> <li>Sufficient knowledge is deployed to demonstrate understanding of the demands and conceptual focus of the question, and to respond fully to its demands.</li> <li>Valid criteria by which the question can be judged are established and applied and their relative significance evaluated in the process of reaching and substantiating the overall judgement.</li> <li>The answer is well organised. The argument is logical and coherent throughout and is communicated with clarity and precision.</li> </ul>



## Paper 3 Option 39 Civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1850–2009

### AO1 – Section B Question 4

- 4 'The main reason for Barack Obama's victory in the campaign for the Presidency was the weakness of his opponents throughout his campaign.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 4 = 20 marks)

#### SECTION B

Answer ONE question in Section B on the option for which you have been prepared.

You must start your answer to your chosen question on the next page.

#### Option 39.1: Civil rights and race relations in the USA, 1850–2009

EITHER

- 3 'New Deal legislation barely changed the lives of black Americans in the USA.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 3 = 20 marks)

OR

- 4 'The main reason for Barack Obama's victory in the campaign for the Presidency was the weakness of his opponents throughout his campaign.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 4 = 20 marks)

#### Option 39.2: Mass media and social change in Britain, 1882–2004

EITHER

- 5 How far do you agree that it is the BBC that deserves the greatest credit for raising public morale on the Home Front during the Second World War?

(Total for Question 5 = 20 marks)

OR

- 6 'The Hutton Inquiry (2003) had a highly significant impact on the relationship between the Labour Government and the BBC.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 6 = 20 marks)

Opposition	Social Media	Campaigning Speeches
Republican Affairs Disliked Clinton	Used Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Website. 26% of Americans used social media 42% of young adults used it for campaigning	Candidate for change one for the future



Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross in the box ☒. If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒ and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

SecB 12

Chosen question number: Question 3 ☒ Question 4 ☒

Question 5 ☒ Question 6 ☒

You could argue that 'the main reason for Barack Obama's victory in the campaign for the Presidency was the weakness of his opponents throughout his campaign'. However, a more convincing argument would be that Obama's use of Social media was the main reason for his victory, and that the ~~weakness~~ <sup>weakness</sup> of his opponents and his ~~speeches~~ <sup>speeches</sup> were contributing factors.

~~The~~ Obama's use of Social media ~~was~~ <sup>is</sup> must be argued as the main reason for victory in his presidential campaign. This is because Obama used Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and had his own website called BarackObama.com. This was very successful as Obama asked for lots of small donations for his presidential campaign which resulted in him ~~raising~~ <sup>raising</sup> \$6.4 ~~million~~ <sup>million</sup>.

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In comparison, Hilary Clinton relied on larger ~~sums~~ ~~from~~ donations from less people. She ~~raised~~ ~~collected~~ \$4.2 million. As well as this, in 2008 26% of Americans used social media and 42% of young adults used ~~it~~ social media. This meant that Obama could reach all audiences with his campaign and tailor it to specific target groups. Due to ~~the~~ these reasons, this is why Obama's use of social media is a more convincing argument ~~than a weakness of his~~ for ~~his~~ his victory in the campaign for presidency due to him reaching many different audiences.

You could agree that 'the main reason for Barack Obama's victory in the campaign for presidency was the weakness of his opponents throughout his campaign.' This is because there were several Republican affairs leaked that meant ~~that~~ several ~~candidates~~ candidates had to step down from the presidential election. In addition to this, lots of Americans felt



that Hilary Clinton was too entitled, therefore they were ~~less~~ hesitant to vote for her in the ~~pres~~ presidential election. Lastly, another candidate for the presidential election was exposed for copying a previous president's speech, because of ~~there~~ <sup>this</sup> they had to step down their campaign. Therefore, the weakness of Barack Obama's ~~campaign~~ opponent's campaign must be considered a contributory factor, however ~~the~~ Obama's use of social media must be seen as a more convincing argument due to the broad audience he reached.

Another factor you could argue was the main reason for Obama's victory in his campaign for presidency ~~is~~ was his speech. As Clinton tried to demean Obama as inexperienced, he used this to state he was the candidate for change. In addition to this, his campaign stated he was 'one for the future' as he was only in his thirties. This excited Americans as Clinton was in her ~~70s~~ 70's.

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and still had a 1990's ideology. ~~and~~ Americans did not want this they wanted change. ~~Therefore, Obama's speeches must be seen~~ As well as this, Obama gained many votes from black Americans and Hispanics. Therefore, Obama's speeches must be seen as a contributory factor for victory in the election, however ~~his~~ Obama's use of social media is the most convincing argument due to the wide variety of Americans he reached.

Overall, ~~Obama's~~ the weakness of Obama's opposition and his speeches must be seen as contributory factors for his ~~great~~ victory in the campaign for presidency. However, Obama's use of social media to capture a wider and more varied audience is the most convincing argument for the reason Obama was ~~the~~ victorious in his campaign for presidency.





**Paper 2 Option 2G.2 Spain, 1930–78: republicanism, Francoism and the re-establishment of democracy – AO1 – Section B Question 6**

- 6 'Whilst foreign intervention was overwhelmingly beneficial to the Nationalists during the Civil War, foreign intervention was of little help to the Republican side.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

(Total for Question 6 = 20 marks)

Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross in the box ☒. If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒ and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen question number: Question 3 ☒ Question 4 ☒

Question 5 ☒ Question 6 ☒

SecB 20

To some extent, it can be argued that foreign intervention helped the Republicans during the Spanish Civil War. Although no Western countries officially aided the Republicans, volunteers fought for the Republicans in Spain through international brigades. These volunteers came from a range of different countries, including the US, France and Britain to name a few. Furthermore, Stalin did give official aid to the Republicans during the war including military hardware, engineers and ammunition, helping the Republicans to be better equipped. Additionally, it can be argued that foreign intervention was not wholly beneficial to the Nationalists because the bombing of Guernica - thousands of civilians killed with the help of the Nazi Condor Legion - led to outrage and a worsened opinion of the Nationalists internationally. However, overall I agree with the statement to a greater extent because the foreign aid from Mussolini and Hitler far exceeded that of Stalin's and the international brigades for the Republicans. The troops, equipment and aircraft given to the Nationalists by Italy and Germany were a decisive factor in their victory against the Republicans.

To some extent, foreign intervention helped the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War. Stalin officially gave the Republicans aid



which included 500 tonnes of military hardware, 500 engineers, as well as some machine guns, ammunition and other equipment. This was helpful for the Republicans because they were less well equipped than the Nationalists at the start of the war - before any foreign intervention for either side. For instance, Nationalists had nearly double the number of aircraft - the Republicans had only 350 compared to the Nationalists' 600 in 1936. Therefore it can be argued that Stalin helped the Republicans. Furthermore, international brigades were an important help. Sympathisers and left-wing supporters around the world came to Spain to volunteer as soldiers/militia. Their numbers totalled 35,000. Again, this was helpful because the Nationalists also outnumbered the Republicans in 1936: 800,000 troops compared to 450,000. The international brigades were renowned for their bravery during the war in battles such as the Battle of the Ebro in 1938 - the largest Republican offensive of the war.

Additionally, it can be argued foreign intervention was not overwhelmingly beneficial to the Nationalists. During the Nationalist offensive the Vitoria / Biscay Campaign, the Nationalists bombed the town of Guernica <sup>in April 1937</sup> with the help of German planes (the Condor Legion). This was highly controversial, resulting in deaths of 1685 civilians, and worsened the international public opinion of the Nationalists. However, it still did not result in official aid for the Republicans from Britain or France.



However, to a greater extent, foreign intervention was of little help to the Republicans and was far more beneficial for the Nationalists. Significantly, the aid of Mussolini and Hitler gave the Nationalists domination in the air ~~war~~ with far more aircraft. For instance, Italy sent 130 aircraft and Germany sent the Condor Legion of fighter planes to help them. This was critical in a number of battles, like the <sup>of 1937</sup> Vercaya Campaign, Malaga (1936), Brunete (1937) and Gero (1938); all of these were won by the Nationalists largely due to the superiority of their airforce, enabling ~~the~~ to bombard Vercaya for instance and gain control of Northern Spain. Furthermore, Italy sent 50,000 troops and Germany 10,000, increasing the disparity between the Nationalist and Republican forces. These numbers show the insignificance of the international brigades in comparison, which were also largely untrained volunteers, not soldiers, who fought with revolutionary warfare tactics in militias. This put the Republicans at an extreme disadvantage.

Additionally, the Nationalists received far more equipment from Italy and Germany ~~than~~ than the Republicans received from Russia - it was also of superior quality to the Russian equipment. Germany sent 10,000 rifles <sup>grenades</sup> and machine guns, and Italy also sent hundreds of tonnes of bombs / ammunition. These supplies and aid were highly significant in the bloody conflicts of Teruel in late 1937 and Elbro in mid-1938. Despite the extremely heavy losses totalling 110,000 <sup>casualties</sup> for both sides at Teruel and approximately the





same amount at Gero, the Nationalists were not only victorious but could also advance on quickly afterwards due to the number of supplies they were receiving from their ideologically aligned fascist allies. ~~the~~ On the other hand, the Republicans were unable to fully recover from the battles, even having to call off the brigades at Gero as it became a battle of attrition, because the resources from Stalin were insufficient. It also did not help that Stalin was only aligned with the Communists within the Republican side rather than the anarchists (CNT) and socialists (POVM) which deepened the divides between these groups. To some extent Stalin's involvement exacerbated the tensions leading to direct factional conflicts in the Barcelona May Days 1937 and the Fall of Madrid 1939. NKVD agents even killed the POVM leader Andre Nin displaying these deep divisions.

Overall, I agree with the statement to a great extent. Although Stalin and international brigades may have provided some help to Republicans it was not enough. Hitler and Mussolini's aid to the Nationalists was overwhelmingly greater, allowing them to dominate the air and the field with aircraft, tanks and superior equipment. Furthermore, it can be argued that Stalin's aid to the Republicans exacerbated their internal conflicts ~~which~~ which contributed to their defeat.



**AO2** – Analyse and evaluate appropriate source material, primary and/or contemporary to the period, within its historical context (20%)

Level	Mark	Descriptor
	0	No rewardable material.
1	1-3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonstrates surface level comprehension of the source material without analysis, selecting some material relevant to the question, but in the form of direct quotations or paraphrases.</li> <li>• Some relevant contextual knowledge is included, with limited linkage to the source material.</li> <li>• Evaluation of the source material is assertive with little or no supporting evidence. Concepts of reliability or utility may be addressed, but by making stereotypical judgements.</li> </ul>
2	4-7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonstrates some understanding and attempts analysis of the source material by selecting and summarising information and making undeveloped inferences relevant to the question.</li> <li>• Contextual knowledge is added to information from the source material to expand, confirm or challenge matters of detail.</li> <li>• Evaluation of the source material is related to the specified enquiry but with limited support for judgement. Concepts of reliability or utility are addressed mainly by noting aspects of source provenance and judgements may be based on questionable assumptions.</li> </ul>
3	8-12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonstrates understanding of the source material and shows some analysis by selecting key points relevant to the question, explaining their meaning and selecting material to support valid inferences.</li> <li>• Deploys knowledge of the historical context to explain or support inferences as well as to expand, confirm or challenge matters of detail.</li> <li>• Evaluation of the source material is related to the specified enquiry and explanation of utility takes into account relevant considerations such as nature or purpose of the source material or the position of the author. Judgements are based on valid criteria but with limited justification.</li> </ul>
4	13-16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Analyses the source material, interrogating the evidence to make reasoned inferences and to show a range of ways the material can be used, for example by distinguishing between information and claim or opinion, although treatment of the two sources may be uneven.</li> <li>• Deploys knowledge of the historical context to illuminate and/or discuss the limitations of what can be gained from the content of the source material, displaying some understanding of the need to interpret source material in the context of the values and concerns of the society from which it is drawn.</li> <li>• Evaluation of the source material uses valid criteria which are justified and applied, although some of the evaluation may be weakly substantiated. Evaluation takes into account the weight the evidence will bear as part of coming to a judgement.</li> </ul>
Level	Mark	Descriptor
5	17-20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interrogates the evidence of both sources with confidence and discrimination, making reasoned inferences and showing a range of ways the material can be used, for example by distinguishing between information and claim or opinion.</li> <li>• Deploys knowledge of the historical context to illuminate and/ or discuss the limitations of what can be gained from the content of the source material, displaying secure understanding of the need to interpret source material in the context of the values and concerns of the society from which it is drawn.</li> <li>• Evaluation of the source material uses valid criteria which are justified and fully applied. Evaluation takes into account the weight the evidence will bear as part of coming to a judgement and, where appropriate, distinguishes between the degree of certainty with which aspects of it can be used as the basis for claims.</li> </ul>





**Paper 3 Option 36.1 Protest, agitation and Parliamentary reform in Britain, c1780–1928**  
**AO2 – Section A Question 1 and Source 1**

- 1** Assess the value of the source for revealing changing attitudes towards the WSPU in 1912 and the importance of Emmeline Pankhurst in the WSPU.

Explain your answer, using the source, the information given about its origin and your own knowledge about the historical context.

**(Total for Question 1 = 20 marks)**

**Source 1:** From Ray Strachey, *The Cause: A Short History of the Women's Movement in Great Britain*, published 1928. Strachey was involved in the suffrage campaign from 1905. She was a leading member of a women's suffrage organisation, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Here she is discussing the WSPU in 1912.

The three most prominent leaders of the WSPU, Mrs Pankhurst and Mr and Mrs Pethick-Lawrence, were arrested in March 1912 and tried for conspiracy. They were found guilty and sentenced to nine months in second division imprisonment\*. This extraordinarily harsh sentence disturbed even those people who were not sympathisers with the militant methods and caused a great deal of astonishment and indignation. The three prisoners, though admittedly guilty of inciting their followers to violence, were clearly political offenders. Much pressure was put upon the Home Secretary and, after a few days, he gave orders that the prisoners were to be removed to the first division. When this had been done, however, they discovered that this privilege had not been extended to their followers, and, as a protest, all three of them went on hunger strike. 5 10

The release of the prisoners took place in the summer of 1912. At this stage, a difference of opinion arose among them. Mrs Pankhurst was determined that the fight should be intensified. Mr and Mrs Pethick-Lawrence disagreed. This split in the militant ranks was very serious. It marked the end of a cautious approach and the move into ever-greater displays of militancy. 15

The followers of the WSPU, inspired by the articles written by Christabel Pankhurst, and the determined example of her mother, grew more and more reckless. At the first meeting in the autumn of 1912, Mrs Pankhurst said, 'I will incite this meeting to rebellion! Be militant, each in your own way. I accept the responsibility for everything you do!' With such words, she inspired her followers, and their passionate admiration and hero-worship gathered ever more closely around her. 20

In reality, however, the militant movement was now at the end of its importance. The militants did not know it, living as they did in an artificial world of their own creating, where excitement always ran high. To them, their work seemed supremely important, and if they held back, they believed all would be lost. But it was not so. The Press and the public had grown tired of the news of 'outrages', and even when these became more serious in character, such militant actions attracted comparatively little attention. The question of methods, which had once been so interesting, faded into insignificance. 25 30

\*second division imprisonment – there were various categories of prisoner; second division prisoners received stricter treatment than first division prisoners



Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross in the box ☒. If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒ and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

SecA 13

Chosen question number: Question 1 ☒ Question 2 ☐

The WSPU was an organisation established in 1904, aiming to accomplish women's suffrage through militant actions, after feeling the NUWSS was ineffective. Their slogan was 'Deeds not words'.

The source is valuable in revealing the government attitudes towards the WSPU, which were those of negative connotations. "The three most prominent leaders of the WSPU, Mrs Pankhurst and Mr and Mrs Perdurick-Lawrence, were arrested in March 1912 and tried for conspiracy." The quote states how the leaders were detained and imprisoned, showing the significance of the movement was relatively strong for the government to grow a worried attitude towards them in 1912. The WSPU began more militant actions to get attention, as Asquith and constitutional bills limited the effectiveness of their campaign by denying their suffrage. Actions such as destroying politicians' property and setting postboxes on fire followed. There were also mass meetings in attempts of demonstrating support for the campaign. The Hyde Park march is an important event, where 10,000 women gathered, yet government still didn't recognize their needs.

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The source is useful in showing the government's strong opposition that grew as the movement grew. Police forces were used against them and leaders were arrested on several occasions, in attempts to reduce their influence. The use of the word prominent for explaining the leaders shows how they were seen as the leaders, making them the main target. ~~over~~ The source is also useful in explaining the public's changing attitude towards women. The press and the public had grown tired of the news of 'outrages' and even when there became more serious in character, such militant actions attracted comparatively little attention. This describes how ~~women~~ support died down as tactics of the WSPU deterred support due to their militant nature. The public grew sympathetic, especially after Black Friday, where 300 women ~~was~~ marched into parliament only to be met with police troops and many assaulted in return. Additionally, following the government's ~~introduction of the~~ ~~'cat and mouse act'~~ ~~a policy to try and solve the~~ ~~of~~ force feeding, the public were sympathetic and supported the women against the inhumane acts against them. This support was significantly strong as it led to the introduction of the 'cat and mouse act'. However, their actions grew increasingly violent and therefore controversial and the public gradually reduced support, as described in the source. It is important to





consider that the source doesn't mention another key reason for the end of the WSPU that was the start of WWI, causing a patriotic nature and need for unification in society. This could be due to the source coming from an NUWSS member, who also campaigned for women's suffrage but with more tactics. Therefore, the attitudes may be exaggerated to put blame on the tactics of the NUWSS, not the aims. The source was written in 1928, when women were finally given the vote, so ~~the~~ the potential bias ~~against~~ against militancy may not be the case, and as the source is being written for a book about the overall women's movement, may in fact just be ~~etc~~ trying to be informative about the differences. ~~of~~ overall, the source is useful in showing the changing attitudes of the gov by explaining the increased threat they felt and the public's view on the WSPU.

The source can be useful to show Emmeline Pankhurst's leading importance in the WSPU. "This split ~~the~~ in the militant ranks was very serious." The quote explains the division caused by Emmeline's urge for increased militancy against the Pethwick-Lawrences. Her importance is suggested by the fact that her opinion overruled and caused the couple to leave the movement. This is enhanced by the fact that her and her daughters

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established the group, and dominated it. There was no central committee but through her strong personality and determination, Emmeline remained the unspoken leader and decider for the campaign. Earlier, there is another split where Teresa Bigg left as well, going on to form her own movement. This helps demonstrate the ~~low~~ strong importance Emmeline had, allowing her to alienate others due to her strong views. The source additionally represents her importance to fellow WSPU members. "With such words she inspired her followers, and their passionate admiration and hero worship gathered ever more closely around her." The quote is used to paint a picture of the aftermath of one of her speeches and show the influence she had on followers. Her involvement can also be inferred and we know that this is accurate, as she ~~has~~ regularly spoke at meetings and played an important role in mobilising the movement. ~~Again~~ The words of adoration used describe her followers attitudes towards her, showing her strong status. This is useful and links to her importance in growing the movement through speeches, rallies and mass meetings. Therefore, her importance in the WSPU can be concluded to have been everlasting and influential. This increases reliability for the source, reducing chances of bias as the writer depicts her well according to history and what we now know about her importance. Also,





as the nature of the source is explaining woman's movement. It helps to show her strength in causing divisions, contributing to ~~the~~ a long term weakness of the WSPU. This was written when she is still alive, so potentially may be favouring her positive impact to avoid conflict.

Overall the source is reasonably ~~useful~~ useful in describing changing ~~attitudes~~ attitudes towards the WSPU, however is only describing events from 1912, where the movement was nearing ended, therefore not providing a useful source from 1904 to get a better idea of the changes. On the other hand, it helps describe the public attitude growing against them. In regards to Emmeline Pankhurst, it's useful to show her strength, importance and influence, as the 'leader' of the movement.

\* written from 1912, so doesn't show government attitudes from 1904, reducing ability to accurately determine changes in attitude

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## Paper 2 Option 2F.2 South Africa, 1948–94

### AO2 – Section A Question 2 and Sources 3 & 4

- 2 How far could the historian make use of Sources 3 and 4 together to investigate the importance of F W de Klerk in the process of dismantling apartheid in 1990?

Explain your answer, using both sources, the information given about them and your own knowledge of the historical context.

(Total for Question 2 = 20 marks)

**Source 3:** From F W de Klerk, *The Last Trek – A New Beginning, The Autobiography*, published 1998. Here he is recalling the speech that he made to the South African Parliament, 2 February 1990, in which he announced his decision to unban opposition groups and free Nelson Mandela.

I awoke with a sense of destiny. I knew that my speech would begin a new era. I could not be sure of the success of my government's initiative. The test would be the reaction of the media, the leaders whom we wanted to involve in negotiations, the international community and the public.

Half my speech would be in English and half in Afrikaans – but I decided to make the announcements that I knew would have the greatest local and foreign impact in English. 5

When I made the most important announcements in the speech, there was clear support and excitement from the ranks of the National Party, the Democratic Party and the members of the Coloured and Indian chambers. The only dissenting voices came from the Conservative Party. 10

I had achieved my objective of convincing both friends and foes that the National Party had made a fundamental policy shift.

The one matter that had raised the greatest expectations, and that I had deliberately played down in my speech, was the release of Nelson Mandela. It was crucially important that the fundamental decisions we had taken should not be overshadowed by an announcement on Mandela's release. 15

During my first meetings with Mandela after his release, we accepted one another's integrity. We realised that we both bore the responsibility for ensuring that there would be a negotiated settlement and we were both committed to carrying it out. 20



**Source 4:** From Hugo Young, *Frontiers of a New Land*, published 1990. Young was a journalist for the left-leaning British newspaper, *The Guardian*. He wrote this report following a visit to South Africa three months after Mandela was released.

I was sceptical of British claims that a meeting between President de Klerk and Mrs Thatcher\* in June 1989 was of crucial importance. A week in South Africa showed me its importance. Thatcher explained to de Klerk that she couldn't keep up her anti-sanctions position for ever. Unless there was some reform, South African society would only be sustainable using armed force. De Klerk had the courage and intelligence to get the message. 25

De Klerk's shift in policy has not been a vast political risk. It has its white supporters. Moving to end apartheid is a relief to a lot of modern Afrikaner politicians, who are now prepared to confess that they have been unhappy with it for years. 30

De Klerk has finally wiped out the ideology of white supremacy. Some people are naïve enough to think that this automatically means the agreed end of white domination. That's far from certain.

De Klerk says that constitutional apartheid will soon be entirely eliminated. My reporting shows that actual apartheid, petty or grand, is far from gone. The promises about the laws remain to be fulfilled in practice. However, this modest start, with little given away, has already done a lot for South Africa's image. Its status as an outcast nation is ending. 35

\*Mrs Thatcher – the British prime minister



Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross in the box ☒. If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒ and then indicate your new question with a cross ☒.

Chosen question number: Question 1 ☒ Question 2 ☒

SecA 20

Sources 3 and 4 display varying levels of appreciation for the impact of de Klerk's reforms for the dismantling of apartheid. Whilst there is significant scepticism, particularly from Source 4, that de Klerk really had a significant impact on the dismantling of apartheid, broadly there is consensus between the two on this topic. In this consensus lies the sources' primary value to the historian; whilst coming from different origins, they agree that de Klerk's reforms amounted to a 'fundamental policy shift' for the National Party. Taken together, therefore, Sources 3 & 4 are very useful for an historical investigation into the importance of de Klerk in the process of dismantling apartheid in 1990.

Source 3 is incredibly useful for the historian in investigating the impact of de Klerk on the process of dismantling apartheid. Firstly, it is from de Klerk himself, and would therefore have ~~provided~~ a very useful assessment of the impact of the author. It focuses primarily on a very significant speech made by de Klerk, whilst President, in February 1990.

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It should be noted, though, that an autobiography may have a tendency to focus on an individual's positive impacts rather than their failures or missteps. Source 3 reveals that de Klerk felt as though his most important move (the one that 'raised the greatest expectations') was the release of Mandela in February 1990. Indeed, this was one of de Klerk's most important moves in the year 1990; his release of Mandela (and other political prisoners) signalled to the world and to South Africa that the National Party was making a 'fundamental policy shift'. Another way in which the source illuminates de Klerk's significance is in how it describes the 'meetings with Mandela', which indicates that the groundwork de Klerk laid in developing negotiations was very important. Indeed, initially the ANC/NP relationship was civil; ~~between the two~~ the leaders 'accepted one another's integrity' and were able to get negotiations off the ground. In these ways, Source 3 is very useful for an investigation into the importance of de Klerk in dismantling apartheid in 1990.

Source 4 is also useful for such an ~~hist~~ historical investigation, but for different reasons. It comes from a journalist's ~~book~~<sup>report</sup>, published in the year in question, who was aiming to provide a





clear and factually accurate appraisal of the significance of de Klerk and the extent of progress, as journalists do. Firstly, Source 4 deals with how suitable de Klerk was personally for dismantling apartheid. It claims de Klerk 'had the courage and intelligence to get the message', and this is convincing. Certainly, de Klerk was personally suited well to his task of dismantling apartheid. He was well-liked within his party, respected by his political opponents (particularly the ANC and particularly in the aftermath of his February 1990 speech) but most importantly he understood the gravity of the situation in South Africa. ~~In this way, his personal traits.~~ The source also reaches upon the actions de Klerk took in 1990. It details a 'shift in policy' that he took and that this policy was to '[move] to end apartheid'. Most significantly, it claims 'de Klerk says that constitutional apartheid will soon be ~~the~~ entirely eliminated'. Whilst it expresses scepticism about this claim, this is only because of its timing (being written in May 1990), before de Klerk delivered on this promise by removing acts like the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act later in the year. In this way, Source 4 is incredibly useful for an investigation into the significance of De Klerk in the process of dismantling apartheid in 1990.

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Taken together, though, the sources are at their most useful. There is revealing consensus between them on a number of key issues relating to de Klerk's importance. Firstly, both sources agree that de Klerk was responsible for a 'fundamental policy shift' - source 4 even goes as far as describing this shift as a 'wiping out of the ideology of white supremacy'. There is little doubt, in fact, that de Klerk did change South African history - the National Party's policy went from being one of gradual, piecemeal reform under Botha to wholesale, fundamental reform under de Klerk, such as the unbanning of the ANC, PAC & SACP in 1990. Both sources also detail the 'relief' from 'modern Afrikaner politicians' that followed de Klerk's reforms. This suggests that another aspect to de Klerk's importance is how he was able to get white South Africa on-side with his reforms. Indeed, a referendum conducted revealed that 68% of whites were in favour of a new political settlement. The sources' origins are significant here; that they come from opposite sides of the argument (one from de Klerk and one vaguely critical of him, although only because of its publication date) and still agree on these points indicates to a high degree of certainty that de Klerk was very important for dismantling



apartheid in 1990. Thus, the sources are useful together.

In conclusion, sources 3 & 4 are very useful for the historian to investigate de Klerk's importance in dismantling apartheid. Individually, they reveal how he released Mandela, made 'fundamental policy shifts' and more. Taken together, though, the sources support one another's arguments and indicate how de Klerk gathered significant white support & changed NP policy. Therefore, the sources are very useful for the historian to investigate the dismantling of apartheid in 1990.

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**AO3** – Analyse and evaluate, in relation to the historical context, different ways in which aspects of the past have been interpreted (25%)

Level	Mark	Descriptor
	0	No rewardable material.
1	1–3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonstrates only limited comprehension of the extracts, selecting some material relevant to the debate.</li> <li>• Some relevant contextual knowledge is included, with limited linkage to the extracts.</li> <li>• Judgement on the view is assertive, with little or no supporting evidence.</li> </ul>
2	4–7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonstrates some understanding and attempts analysis of the extracts by describing some points within them that are relevant to the debate.</li> <li>• Contextual knowledge is added to information from the extracts, but only to expand on matters of detail or to note some aspects which are not included.</li> <li>• A judgement is given, but with limited support and related to the extracts overall, rather than specific issues.</li> </ul>
3	8–12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonstrates understanding of the extracts and shows some analysis by selecting and explaining some key points of interpretation they contain and indicating differences.</li> <li>• Knowledge of some issues related to the debate is included to link to, or expand, some views given in the extracts.</li> <li>• A judgement is given and related to some key points of view in the extracts and discussion is attempted, albeit with limited substantiation.</li> </ul>
4	13–16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonstrates understanding of the extracts, analysing the issues of interpretation raised within them and by comparison of them.</li> <li>• Integrates issues raised by extracts with those from own knowledge to discuss the views. Most of the relevant aspects of the debate will be discussed, although treatment of some aspects may lack depth.</li> <li>• Discusses evidence provided in the extracts in order to reach a supported overall judgement. Discussion of points of view in the extracts demonstrates understanding that the issues are matters of interpretation.</li> </ul>
5	17–20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interprets the extracts with confidence and discrimination, analysing the issues raised and demonstrating understanding of the basis of arguments offered by both authors.</li> <li>• Integrates issues raised by extracts with those from own knowledge when discussing the presented evidence and differing arguments.</li> <li>• Presents sustained evaluative argument, reaching fully substantiated judgements on the views given in both extracts and demonstrating understanding of the nature of historical debate.</li> </ul>



## Option 1E Russia, 1917–91

### AO3 – Section C Question 5 and Extracts 1 & 2

- 5 In the light of differing interpretations, how convincing do you find the view that the USSR collapsed in 1991 because of the ‘rise of the national question’ [Extract 1, line 2]?

To explain your answer, analyse and evaluate the material in both extracts, using your own knowledge of the issues.

(20)

**Extract 1:** From David R Marples, *The Collapse of the Soviet Union, 1985–1991*, published 2004.

Gorbachev's most important failure was not to reconcile the results of *glasnost* with the rise of the national question in the Soviet Union. Problems in the republics emerged almost immediately upon his taking office and were only increased by the more tolerant atmosphere within the media. In the Baltic states, there were widespread protests. Arguably Gorbachev could have negotiated the departure of the three Baltic states from the USSR and still maintained the union. His hesitation ensured that the initiatives of the Baltic leaders, and particularly the popular fronts, spread to the other republics.

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The rise in national sentiment in the republics received a significant boost from the downfall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe. In the first instance, Gorbachev's abandonment of the Brezhnev Doctrine led to the overthrow of the obsolete communist governments in Poland and East Germany, which had almost no popular support. When the Soviet Union did not respond to stop the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, the Soviet republics could act with more confidence.

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**Extract 2:** From John Keep, *A History of the Soviet Union 1945–1991*, published 1995.

Gorbachev's miscalculations were so enormous that some contemporary observers thought they might be ‘deliberate mistakes’. In other words, that he was following a secret agenda and was working to bring down the Soviet regime. First, he authorised the spending spree of 1985–86, which undermined the country's financial stability. The financial stability of the Soviet Union was already more seriously threatened than he realised since his predecessors had treated financial matters as top-secret.

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Second, he underestimated the seriousness of nationalist tensions within the Soviet Union which could not be easily resolved by the rational, common sense methods he applied. Third, although he believed that the socialist option was irreversible, he weakened the party machinery that embodied it.

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Finally, in 1990, he refused to endorse the programme of his adviser Shatalin for transition to a free market. All of these miscalculations were rooted in a failure to appreciate the true nature of the Soviet political system, which, being totalitarian, was held together ultimately by coercion and deceitful propaganda.

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### SECTION C

Tbilisi: Kazakhstan

Study Extracts 1 and 2 in the Extracts Booklet before you answer this question.

- 5 In the light of differing interpretations, how convincing do you find the view that the USSR collapsed in 1991 because of the 'rise of the national question' [Extract 1, line 2]?

new Soviet leaders

To explain your answer, analyse and evaluate the material in both extracts, using your own knowledge of the issues.

(20) Q05 14

The ~~data~~ reasons ~~are~~ for the fall of the USSR has been a debate amongst historians for decades. ~~Extract~~ The ~~views~~ - Some historians such as Marples in Extract 1, believe it was the rise of nationalism that led to the fall of the USSR. ~~that is~~ Whilst other historians, such as Keep in Extract 2 believe it was Gorbachev's failures ~~that~~ as a leader that led to the fall of the USSR. In addition, other historians state that it was the rise of Boris Yeltsin which led to the collapse. The view that the USSR collapsed in 1991 because of the 'rise of the national question' can be seen as valid to some extent. However, the more convincing view is ~~that~~ the views of Extract 2, that it was 'Gorbachev's miscalculations' which led to the fall of the USSR.

~~As for~~ The view that it was the 'rise of the national question', which led to the collapse of the Soviet Union can be supported

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by Marples in Extract 1. For instance, Marples states that ~~the~~ Gorbachev's biggest failure "was not to reconcile the results of glasnost with the rise of the national question." ~~in the text~~ From my own knowledge, I know that glasnost was a reform implemented by Gorbachev to allow freedom of speech, in an attempt to expand democracy, by policies such as freedom of speech. ~~This~~ The implementation of Glasnost, ~~a signi~~ significantly contributed to the 'rise of the national question'. This is because, it enabled non-Russian states to see higher standards of living within Russia. For instance, economic reforms such as the law on state co-operatives, led to strikes due to food shortages in poorer areas. This is corroborated by Marples as they state that "there were widespread protests" in "Baltic states". ~~The~~ Glasnost was significant in causing these protests as ~~non-~~ non-Russian states were now able to ~~see~~ compare themselves to Russia, in a way they hadn't ~~be~~ been able to previously. For example Marple states that the "more tolerant atmosphere within the media" ~~and~~ contributed to the 'rise of the nationalist question'. The views of Marples is further corroborated by the views of Kee in Extract 2. For instance, Kee states that, Gorbachev,



"underestimated the seriousness of nationalist tensions". For instance, in 1989 in Tbilisi, a mass protest broke out, as Georgian citizens were protesting for the ~~minority rights of the~~ treatment of the Abkhazian minority. As a result of this protest, 19 died and thousands were injured, but Gorbachev failed to address the 'rise of the national question'. Instead, he worsened it, ~~as~~ by charging soviet leaders, who were very popular in ~~the~~ nationalist states, such as Kazakhstan. This angered these states as ~~the~~ popular representatives were taken away. Thus, this shows how "there were widespread protests" (Marple) ~~as~~ yet Gorbachev "underestimated the seriousness of nationalist tensions" (Keep). To summarise, the 'rise of the national question' was significant as it ~~became a~~ ~~was~~ was the final straw leading to the fall of the USSR. However, other factors such as "Gorbachev's miscalculations" (Keep) were more significant as these were ~~to~~ the fundamental reasons for the fall of the USSR.

The most convincing point is made by Keep in Extract 2, as he states that it was "Gorbachev's miscalculations" which led to the fall of the ~~the~~ USSR. For instance "he authorised the



Spending spree of 1985-86". (Keep).  
From my own knowledge I know that in the  
12<sup>th</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> year plan Gorbachev significantly  
overspent. For instance, the aim of the plan  
was to modernise the Soviet union, ~~and~~ so  
large amounts of money was invested in  
science research, construction projects and  
engineering. However, it was largely a  
system of quantity over quality, and  
out of date equipment was used, which  
broke down quickly. As a result, the 12<sup>th</sup>  
5<sup>th</sup> year plan resulted in ~~the~~ not only a  
~~the~~ mass "spending spree" (Keep), but also  
~~produced~~ led to large amounts of waste.  
Furthermore, Keep states that "mistakes  
were rooted in a failure to appreciate  
the true nature of the Soviet political  
system". For instance, previous governments  
relied on "being ~~the~~ totalitarian", this was  
in comparison to Gorbachev who  
implemented a programme of democratisation.  
As a result, ~~the~~ ~~the~~ free media became  
free, as did criticisms and functions  
against the party. For example, ~~the~~  
60,000 factions were created and  
criticisms of Stalin's terror were







broadcasted across the Soviet Union. This also led to the 'rise of the national question' as details of the Katyn massacre were discovered. For example, under Stalin, many within the Polish military were brutally killed. This is corroborated by Extract 1, which states that there was an "obsolete communist government in Poland" arguably because reports of the Katyn massacre angered many Polish citizens. To summarise the most convincing view is that of Kepp in Extract 1, as he states that it was "Gorbachev's miscalculations" which led to the fall of the USSR. This is because his "miscalculations" ~~to~~ laid the foundations for failures in both economic and political policy. This was so significant because failures in the economy and political system led to the rise of the national question, which became the final problem that led to the collapse of the USSR.

On the other hand, other historians may state that it was the rise of Yeltsin which led to the fall of the USSR. For instance, Yeltsin was a popular



radical, who criticised wealthy members of the party as well as corruption. ~~In~~ However it was "Gorbachev's miscalculations" (Keep) which enabled him to do this. This ~~is~~ is because his system of democratisation allowed Yeltsin to not only criticise Gorbachev, but become a political opponent to him. So, this arguably led to the rise of Yeltsin, leading to the coup in 1991, when the communist party fell. Therefore, although Yeltsin was significant in criticising Gorbachev, but without 'Gorbachev's miscalculations' he wouldn't have been able to do this.

In conclusion, the view that it was the rise of the national question which led to the fall of the Soviet Union is only somewhat accurate. Instead the most convincing view comes from Keep, in ~~Exactly~~ as "Gorbachev's miscalculations" ~~led~~ laid the foundations for both economic and political failure. Even though nationalism was the final straw for the USSR, alone it would not have





been as significant. So, the most convincing view remains that it was Zhenbachev's miscalculations" which led to the fall of the USSR. As a result, the view that it was the rise of national question, that led to the fall of the USSR is only somewhat valid.

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